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ABSTRACT

The role that women played in 19th century and early 20th century European peace movements is examined. European peace societies in the first half of the 19th century began as small citizen groups inspired by religious indignation. Organized peace societies finally took root during the 1860's. For the first three-quarters of the 19th century, women's peace activism was confined mostly to a Paris association organized by Marie Goegg. Toward the end of the century peace movements were galvanized because of the frightening progress of the arms race. Women participated in the peace movement from the 1890's to 1914 in all possible ways. Organizations were developed by and for women in France and Italy. It was in the field of education that women peace activists labored most persistently. Many women, such as Marguerite Selenka, Anna Eckstein, and Bertha von Suttner, became active in international peace movements, organizing massive women's petition and demonstration campaigns and popularizing the movement. In the 1915 Hague meeting called by women they argued for peaceful means of conflict resolution. (RM)

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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENTS:

THE STRUGGLE TO PREVENT WORLD WAR I

by
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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENTS: THE STRUGGLE TO PREVENT WORLD WAR I

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Late in April, 1915, eight months after the first World War broke out, approximately 1200 women from neutral and belligerent nations assembled at The Hague for a congress that had been called by women leaders of various suffrage and social reform movements. After four days of meeting, a series of resolutions passed which protested the unprecedented human suffering caused by the war; condemned territorial transfers without consent of the governed; demanded permanent arbitration and mediation to resolve future international conflicts; insisted on democratic control of foreign policy and on women's right to vote. The congress also advocated universal disarmament, free trade on land and sea, changes in the education of youth and a voice for women in the peace settlement.[1] From this meeting and particularly, its follow-up meeting in Zurich in 1919, came the establishment of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, often called the first woman's association organized across national boundaries devoted to ending man's oldest profession.

Celebrants of the 1915 meeting -- both participants and its future chroniclers -- hailed it as a remarkable event demonstrating cross-class, cross-national solidarity that only women could attain. To Emily Hobhouse, an English organizer, the meeting was the occasion when "peace appeared again upon earth ... nurtured by womanly love and wisdom."[2] A recent description claims that "for the first time in history, women of different nations met together at a time of war to express their opposition and

consider ways of ending the conflict."[3] As a way of illuminating the women's achievement in 1915, yet another author has argued

> Prior to 1900 the peace movement reflected primarily the interests and attention of men. Indeed, women were generally denied entrance into public life. Those who persisted usually worked within established peace organizations that were reluctant to give responsible positions to women. Of course, many women were not interested, or else believed that they had no power to make a contribution to peace. There were notable exceptions.[4]

In an effort to demonstrate the general superiority of women's anti-war activism, in 1914 the English feminist pacifist Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence condemned the entire pre-war peace movement as "passive and negative."[5]

A close examination of the actual record of the 1915 Hague congress contains something less than unanimity among its participants.[6] Secondly, the content of the action resolutions of behalf of international organization differed little from demands made by European and American peace activists for the preceding quarter century -- if not longer. Thirdly, much of the evaluation of the women's congress suggests a fundamental problem which has plagued peace and women's movements down to the present. Both suffer from historical amnesia, a product of discontinuity. Movements lacking two to three generations of continuous ideology and membership might avoid the pitfall of hardening of the bureaucratic arteries but they suffer from the absence of oral traditions. With the recent explosion of women's history in the last 15 years, solid correctives to that amnesia have taken shape -- for those willing to do the reading and studying. But peace activists and scholars alike must often re-invent the wheel each time an upsurge in peace activism occurs. Peace movements have not received the kind of attention from both establishment and radical scholars as have, for instance, diplomatic

crises or working-class experiences. In this paper, an effort will be made to address that indifference.

To focus on continental European peace and women's activism in the last century provides a corrective to the normal Anglo-American emphasis on the Anglo-American experience which is limited as a model for the rest of the world.[7] It is true that peace and women's movements were both born in the English speaking nations astride the Atlantic in the first half of the last century.[8] The first peace societies saw light as small citizen groups mainly inspired with religious indignation and fervor, catalyzed by the horrors reported from the Napoleonic Wars (particularly the Russian campaign.) In London, New York, Massachusetts and Ohio Quakers and dissident Protestants joined in parlors and churches to mount propaganda against war as unChristian. By the 1820's, the societies were sufficiently bold to create national organizations in Britain and the United States. Their ambition was to seed like-minded groups of "friends of peace" particularly in western Europe. It was these Anglo-American groups, first organized in countries which were already unified and which enjoyed limited measures of parliamentary and democratic practices, that produced the first associations of private citizens who lobbied to transform foreign policies. . . . The Anglo-American peace movement was responsible for calling the mid-century international peace congresses, three of which met on the continent -- in Brussels, in 1848; in Paris in 1849 and Frankfort a.M. in 1850. However, on the continent, the fundamentally religious impulse -- some have even called it "messianic"[9] -- of the British peace society was submerged in the message of the Manchester liberal economists, Free Trade means Peace. By mid-century, Anglo-American peace groups had survived and prospered for over 30 years, mounting

numerous campaigns against aggressive foreign policies and military expenditures, publishing newspapers and pamphlets, sending agents to lecture throughout the northern United States and all over England. What they could not do was persuade European liberals to adopt their ideals of peace. A continent breeding revolution for social or national causes, which -- in turn -- bred counter-revolution, militarism and assertions of monarchical authority did not provide fertile ground for the generous vision of pious pacifists, many of whom would not condone violence even in self-defense.[10] The ideals of pacifism as absolute non-resistence to evil remained an unreal vision. The French feminist-pacifist, Eugénie Niboyet, who took up the peace cause in 1844 by publishing a weekly, La Paix des Deux Mondes, rejected the Quaker ideal of peace, insisting that some wars were justified. Further, Niboyet saw that international peace flowed from domestic justice and the religious pacifists were silent on any question of domestic politics.[11] Neither did religious pacifism appeal to those Chartists who took up the question in the 1840's just as it did not to those Americans during the Civil War who wanted an end to slavery.[12] For Europe, the Anglo-American peace message was inappropriate.

In Europe, organized peace societies finally took root during the 1860's, particularly during the 1867 Luxembourg crisis, without the agency of British mid-wivery. Three types of peace organizations developed. The first advocated programs which are best described as "liberal internationalist." Of these, the earliest example was founded in Paris by economists, business-men, bankers and journalists, called the Ligue internationale et permanente de la paix. Its main spokesmen became Frédéric Passy, a student of the economist, Bastiat and a firm believer in

free enterprise and free trade.[13] Passy argued for the preservation of peace through the formation of international institutions to contain conflict. Such institutions would benefit all Europe -- republican or monarchical -- argued Passy. An organized peace where arbitration defused conflict would eventually permit the reduction of arms costs. In the assessment of liberal internationalists, it was the arms race (not the class or economic structure) which fueled the social question and caused poverty. Arms expenses drew away capital needed for investment and development, thus eliminated useful employment, prevented needed public services and utilities from developing and, if not curbed, would eventually bankrupt Europe. The overall analysis made by liberal internationalists fused a devout faith in private property, free trade, and law with a belief in progress (meaning the extension of education and political democracy). The right of the nation-state to exist was a sine qua non. Passy's Parisian league, operating under the contraints of Napoleon III's domestic surveillance, chose to lobby the elites, hold few public meetings and charged high membership dues. Women were welcome in the audience of public lectures.

In 1867, a second peace society was also born in Geneva called the Ligue internationale de la paix et de la liberté. This group also advocated arbitration and international mechanisms for solving conflicts but went considerably further in its program. Its members, a combination of exiled republicans from 1849 counter-revolutions and anti-Napoleonic Frenchmen, insisted that war was the result of dynastic ambition and the denial of human rights. Peace therefore had to result from domestic and national justice. In September, 1867 its founding congress was led by Garibaldi and the meeting was supported by liberals such

as John Stuart Mill, free masons, socialists and Saint-Simonians, the exiled Victor Hugo and a number of Swiss progressive politicians. Members demanded separation of church and state; mass compulsory secular education; an end to standing armies and the creation of national militias; republics where monarchies existed and national liberation for oppressed peoples; freedom of speech and press and the vote. Implicitly, wars of national liberation were regarded as sacred but wars of expansion were denounced as deplorable.[14] It was this peace league which embraced women's emancipation as part of its program one year after it was founded.

The addition of women's rights and indeed, of women's participation in the work of the peace society was the result of a campaign led by a Genevan woman, Marie Pouchoulin-Goegg. In the spring of 1868, Goegg founded the first women's peace society on the continent -- the Association Internationale des Femmes.[15] Her intention was to organize "women of all social classes" and "obtain for women all the same rights which men enjoy in the State as well as the same work and vocations as men."[16] In a speech delivered to the second congress of the Genevan peace league, she stated flatly that the leaders of the French Revolution had undermined their own objectives by proclaiming the rights of man but ignoring "those no less imprescriptable rights of women." Men, she noted

> have paid dearly for their mistake and their descendents still suffer. By denying women as his equal, arrogant men have demeaned their own stature. If women had been called from 1789 to develop their own abilities ... society ... would have progressed.[17]

Goegg's group worked separately from the Ligue to educate women on war and peace questions through public meetings and lectures. Following the Franco-Prussian War, she turned her energies to

Swiss feminist causes but remained on the board of the Ligue internationale de la paix et de la liberté.

The third organization established in the 1860's concerned with international peace was not primarily a peace society. This was the International Working Men's Association -- the first socialist International. As the International fell increasingly under Marx's influence, its members who had been willing to collaborate with the Genevan peace league originally, began to depart.[18] Besides Marx, Cesar de Paepe and other socialist spokesmen distrusted collaboration with any middle class organization, even on the cross-class issue of peace. The International took the position that war resulted from capitalist exploitation and therefore, peace would be the natural product of the socialist revolution. It also refused to permit women participants and ignored Marie Goegg's request to present her program in 1868.[19]

Hence, apart from the unique instance of Eugénie Niboyet's newspaper in Paris, women's peace activism on the continent in the first three-quarters of the century was confined to Marie Goegg's association. Only the radical republicans in the Ligue internationale de la paix et de la liberté demonstrated any willingness to to include women's rights in their broad conception of democracy and peace. Women activists in the peace cause elsewhere in Europe up to the fin de siècle were usually to be found in peace societies with similar orientations. Another example was the short lived Milanese society, Libertà, Fratellanza e Pace which added two feminists, Paolina Schiff and Christina Lazzati to its central committee in 1879. In the years after the Franco-Prussian War, continental peace societies were very difficult to sustain. The wave of membership which the crisis of

1867 had generated slipped from thousands to dozens. Meetings in Paris, particularly, often attracted only five to ten of the most committed. In Germany, organized societies totally disappeared for two decades at least. Under these conditions, anyone who wanted to participate was more than welcome. By the 1890's when continental peace societies began to grow and revive, absolutely none of the organizations placed restrictions on women.

The impact of the Franco-Prussian War and the slow evolution of parliamentary institutions in Europe also minimized the differences between liberal internationalism and republican or radical internationalism. On the other hand, the establishment of the Second International in 1889 had the effect of exacerbating differences between middle class and socialist peace prescriptions although parliamentary collaboration often occurred between representatives of the two positions. What galvanized the growth of the peace movement as the century wore to a close was the frightening progress of the arms race. The costs of armaments which promised to bankrupt Europe contrasted to the fact that arbitration procedures were able to defuse certain conflicts -- as the Alabama case in 1872 demonstrated -- mobilized considerable peace propaganda. In 1889, peace societies from France, Britain and Switzerland called another international congress in Paris which was a great success. From 1889 to 1914, the private peace societies managed to convene annual international congresses in nearly every year. Two to four hundred delegates and sometimes 1000 or more spectators gathered to discuss, debate and vote resolutions on arbitration, international law, arms control, education, contemporary crises, freedom of the seas, freedom of commerce, tariff reform, relations with women's and socialist

organizations, a possible federation of Europe, a permanent court of arbitration, obligatory arbitration and the rights of neutrals -- among other topics. Besides the annual congresses, peace societies organized national peace associations which also held congresses in France, Britain, Italy, Germany, Austria, the Scandinavian nations, The Netherlands, Belgium and after 1906, Tsarist Russia. Peace journals appeared in almost every language along with an outpouring of scholarly and popular books. In 1892, the movement created a central headquarters, the Bureau international de la paix in Berne which also published journals and organized international congresses. At no time before or since has an international network of peace activists functioned so consistently or regularly.[20] Its membership, mainly educated middle class from various liberal professions, obviously failed in its primary object -- to prevent the great war which they feared and predicted.[21] The existence of this movement testifies to the fact that not everyone in pre-1914 Europe was engaged in manufacturing the five long range and four short range causes of World War I. As early as 1892, the International Peace Bureau issued a special appeal to women's associations to affiliate with the movement and attend peace congresses.[22] A few years later one French peace activist went so far as to argue that the only way to insure international peace would be "to give women the posts of ministers of foreign affairs and war" in every government.[23]

Women participated in the peace movement from the 1890's to 1914 in all possible ways. Some joined or backed older organizations. In the Swiss Romande, for instance, the membership of the Ligue internationale de la paix et de la liberté by 1905 was approximately one-third female.[24] During the 1890's, the

approach that Marie Goegg had used -- separate women's peace societies -- also reappeared. In the International Council on Women, a separate committee for International Peace and Arbitration was created with membership from a dozen nations.[25] In Britain and France, women's peace societies were either created or separated from older peace groups. The Liverpool and Birkenhead Women's Peace and Arbitration Society claimed over 300 dues paying members in 1894. Entirely staffed by women, its program denounced the "high handed and unjustifiable manner" in which the British government treated the peoples of Matabele (now Zimbabwe) in 1893-4; attacked increased naval expenditure and deplored the creation of Boys Brigades for military training in the schools. Arbitration was its prime argument for resolving European tensions which, the women argued, could be instituted the moment that governments were willing.[26] This society existed quite separately from the Women's Auxiliary of the British Peace Society which was headed after 1882 by the well to do Quaker, Priscilla H. Peckover.[27]

In France women's peace societies began to multiply in the nineties. The first was established by the radical feminist Eugénie Potonié-Pierre in 1895 and called the Union Internationale des Femmes. It was created after a visit by the English pacifist, Ellen Robinson, secretary of the British Peace Society. The Union promised to coordinate women's rights organizations in a struggle against "military glory [which is] pure chimera" and to oppose "the destruction of man by man."[28] Little remains to indicate what the organization actually did beyond issue manifestos which Potonié-Pierre circulated among feminists in Italy, Greece, Germany and Austria.[29] The twenty-one English women who signed the initial appeal that Robinson brought to Paris in 1895 had hoped for an improvement in Anglo-French relationships as a model

to "influence the actual condition of Europe."[30] The idea of close Anglo-French relationships was an old dream among European peace activists, found as early as 1814 in Saint-Simon's plan for the re-organization of Europe. By 1897, Robinson admitted that the Union had not grown very much but it remained an informal network of "women from several nations who meet to advance the peace cause."[31] Its membership was mainly involved in other causes -- from temperence to reform of laws about prostitution. For Potonié-Pierre, no international peace program could stand alone and apart from issues of domestic reform. Her twenty year commitment to feminism had begun with the Ligue de Droit des Femmes. She had toiled as well for trade union and labor causes. Both women's and working people's rights were inseparable from peace to her. L'Union internationale also insisted on universal suffrage as a requirement for international peace.[32] Potonié-Pierre had never been one to mince words in order to please the powerful. In the name of the Union, she sent, for instance, a sharply worded attack on Crispi's government for its policies in Africa in 1895-6.[33] Her death in 1898 removed the Union's most energetic voice.

Two other peace societies organized by and for women were also established in Paris in the 1890's. In 1896, a socially prominent woman, the Princess Gabrielle Wiesniewska organized the Ligue des femmes pour le désarmement which changed its name to Alliance des Femmes pour la Paix in 1899. Wiesniewska who had no previous record of any political activism traded on her numerous personal connections among well to do women throughout Europe to launch the league. Letters and manifestos were sent to foreign "sisters" all over Europe. In The Netherlands, a coordinate society was established by

another aristocratic lady, Johanna Waszklewicz-Van Schilfgaarde which broke from Wiesniewska's group within a few years. The Dutch women's peace organization began publication of a serious journal, Vrede door Recht and merged with the older general peace society in Holland which had not functioned for decades. Waszklewicz-Van Schilfgaarde's group thoroughly re-energized the movement in The Netherlands.[34]

Both the Parisian princess and the Dutch aristocrat approached the question of peace by a strategy based on personal contacts in high places and appeals to elite women to influence powerful men. While their method of operating was immensely conservative, however, their arguments -- at least initially -- were not. Wiesniewska, in particular, focused directly on arms control, the dangers of the arms race and the need to reduce armaments. In her appeals sent abroad, she proposed that the main purpose of the league was to spread "the idea of international disarmament, to bring an end to fratricidal warfare and inaugurate the desired age of justice and harmony."[35] If women in all countries worked to teach their sons to hate war, then none could be charged with undermining its nation's defense.[36] In contrast, the international peace movement had avoided the subject of disarmament during the nineties and emphasized the organization of international institutions. Wiesniewska's propaganda, in that context, was far more "radical." She claimed that several thousand supporters applauded her effort within one year.[37]

Actually, not all women reacted as favorably as she claimed. The leading Portuguese feminist-pacifist, known by the pseudonym Caïel commented

> in the current state of the question [of world peace] it could be dangerous to suggest general immediate disarmament to an international congress [of diplomats]. War itself ... might result from this well-intentioned initiative towards the ideal pacific state.38

Cahel's view reflected the usual position of the leading male voices in the international peace movement[39] as well as the position of the indisputable woman leader of the international peace movement, Bertha von Suttner. In no uncertain terms, von Suttner warned in 1897 "friends of peace should not take up the armaments question; [arms reduction] can only follow from a preceding understanding and creation of a legal order."[40]

Evidently Wiesniewska recognized the danger of emphasizing disarmament without any other recommendation for defense or security. She assured her own compatriots

> Frenchwomen, we are chauvinists -- at least [we must] remain armed ... to defend the country against an invader as long as our neighbors do not disarm.41

By 1899, the word "disarmament" was dropped from the title of the society and the newly named Alliance des Femmes pour la Paix emerged. At the Paris Exposition of 1900, the Alliance held its own separate peace congress, not participating in the Universal Peace Congress. There, Wiesniewska clarified her intentions:

> We ask for international disarmament in the name of humanity to end the sufferings of war victims, the tears of their mothers and widows ... .
>
> The aim of our society is certainly not the disarmament of <u>la patrie</u>; it only takes aim at the armed peace which will ruin and depopulate Europe before a war even breaks out -- to the political and industrial benefit of America and the Asiatics.
>
> Our league respects the sacred cause of the

> defense of the motherland and the integrity of all its colonial possessions which every patriot must defend, until war shall disappear before the jurisdiction of arbitral courts, which, while guaranteeing the independence of each nation, will eliminate the causes of collision; national independence will thus be assured in justice and the reciprocal equity of peoples.42

Thus, the program of the women's league for disarmament changed to reflect the centrist position of the international peace movement. However, before her death, Wiesniewska abandoned her strategy of elitism. She came to conclude that the objectives of the peace movement would never be achieved until women got the vote. In 1903, she urged Mme. Edmond Spalikowska who was to represent the Alliance at an international peace congress to press the importance of suffrage at that congress.[43] It is fascinating to note that this relatively conservative woman reached the same position as the radical Eugénie Potonié-Pierre who also argued that women would never vote for militarist candidates.

The third women's peace society established in Paris was founded by Sylvie Flammarion and called L'Association "La Paix et le désarmement par les femmes."[44] Flammarion, a vice-president of Wiesniewska's group, struck out on her own in 1899 to create the Association perhaps because the Alliance had strayed from its attack on the arms race. Flammarion, married to a well known astronomer, Camille, had developed her own reputation in that field and as a writer. In forming l'Association, she announced several differences with Wiesniewska's Alliance. The group would be run entirely by women and only feature women speakers. It would emphasize the dangers of the arms race. Finally, it would go out among ordinary women and working people

to prosyletize. Normally a reserved and quiet woman, Flammarion climbed on boxes and carts in public squares and markets, denouncing the dangers of armaments, the importance of peace to working people and working class women, the need for common folk to press governments on behalf of arbitration and the connection between arms expenses and poverty. Ignoring hecklers who attacked her for abandoning Alsace-Lorraine, she denounced war as "useless carnage, imbecile massacre [and] the total observance of masculine law."[45] The word "disarmament" was never eliminated from the title of her organization and women continued to manage its affairs in every area.[46] Of all the French middle class women's peace societies that survived until the war, Flammarion's association remained the most determinedly sex-separate. One of her most important contributions to the peace movement was the recruitment of the journalist Séverine (Carolyn Rémy) to the cause. Of all the leading pre-war peace activists, Séverine remained the most resistent, in 1914-15, to the blandishments of patriotism and was a very early protester in France of the war's legitimacy.[47]

The creation of women's peace societies occurred about a decade later in Italy.[48] Italian feminists were prominent in Italian peace societies as individual members, first in 1878-9 and then after 1889 when peace societies began to multiply in the peninsula. In 1908, however, a new direction began as a result of the appearance of a whirlwind feminist crusader, Teresita Pasini dei Bonfatti who was known publicly by her pseudonym, Alma dolens.[49] A writer and organizer of philanthropic causes, dolens spent about six months touring central Italy with the purpose of establishing peace committees and societies, at least half a dozen of which were women's groups. At the fifth national congress of Italian peace societies in Rome in 1909

she was heartily welcomed for her labors and pleaded with the congress to take steps to attract more women to the cause. "Women," explained dolens

> have remained aloof from the peace movement mainly because of the false concept that has confused pacifism with anti-militarism and anti-patriotism as well as the mistaken idea that the problem of arbitration and gradual disarmament are arguments exclusively for masculine competence. [50]

The purpose of separate women's peace societies was to insure that women developed the confidence to discuss issues previously beyond their experience. In fact, she arrived at the right moment. A previous Italian peace congress had committed itself to support the movement for women's rights and "emancipation" on the grounds that the success of the peace movement depended on the development of "donne coaciente."[51] But there is no evidence that the peace groups had made the kind of effort which dolens undertook to bring in women.

A second woman peace activist, Rosalia-Gwis-Adami who was an author and frequent contributor to La Vita Internazionale, the leading Italian pacifist journal, also took up the problem of attracting women to the cause in 1909. Gwis-Adami, aided by several Milanese women high school teachers, organized the Societá delle giovinette italiane per la pace which managed to grow to several thousand members in one year. Women students and teachers came to lectures on international peace, arbitration and law; established model arbitration tribunals; organized debates and recruited other students. The clear purpose of this group was to educate young women to the dangers of the current international system (or anarchy) and demonstrate alternatives to it; it was to implant what Gwis-Adami considered a healthy patriotism -- that love of country did not necessarily mean

destruction of a neighboring country. Furthermore, the society provided a new kind of education, one in which students were participants and not merely passive recipients. Gwis-Adami, for instance, frequently spoke to students on literary topics including a critical evaluation of heroic poetry and fables. Her eventual dream was to extend the society on an international plane, creating a trans-national organization of high school youth educated in the teachings of the peace movement. Gwis-Adami was a gifted propagandist but not an original thinker. Her entire analysis was derived from her mentors -- the president of the Milanese peace society and Italy's Nobel Peace Prize winner, Ernesto T. Moneta and the Roman professor of linguistics, Angelo De Gubernatis, both of whom she idolized.

The promising beginnings of women's peace activism born in 1908-9 in Italy sadly came to a bitter and abrupt end in 1911. In September, 1911, the Italian government declared war on Turkey and invaded Lybia-Cirenaica, basing its actions on typical imperialist arguments and the needs of the Banca di Roma at that time. Almost immediately after the declaration of war, Moneta's Unione Lombarda and de Gubernatis' peace society in Rome announced their support of the war.[52] The peace movement in Italy was sundered between those who supported the war and those who did not -- and who attacked pacifists favoring the expansion of Italy. In Europe, there was universal agreement among pacifists that the Moneta faction had abandoned its 20 year record. Gwis-Adami followed her male mentors; dolens championed the anti-war forces and the open war of words between these two women leaders became bitter and personal. Dolens not only campaigned against the war. Privately she wrote to the Berne peace bureau which had just obtained a large grant from the new Carnegie Foundation to ask that funds be

sent to support the beleaguered anti-war pacifists in Italy.[53] The executive secretary of the central office, Albert Gobat quietly obliged and dolens, along with Edoardo Giretti and others, managed to re-organize the Italian peace movement and support publications that remained pacifist. On her own, she organized a new workers peace society in Milan with the aid of a metal worker's union official, the Societá Operaia 'Pro Arbitrato e Disarmo.' Quite illegally, dolens and members of the worker's peace society leafletted Milan, held marches and put up posters denouncing the war.[54]

For her part, Gwis-Adami took over Moneta's role given his age and failing health. She became a prominent propagandist, arguing for "patriotic pacifism" and denouncing dolens, Gobat and the entire international peace movement. It was her first step in a long journey that later included defending Italy's entrance into World War I, attacking Romain Rolland during the war for his pacifism and denouncing the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 for not giving Trieste to Italy.[55] Never did Gwis-Adami consider herself anything but a pacifist -- one who believed that a nation's self-interest came before anything else.

Neither gender nor class explain the different behavior of Italy's two women pacifist leaders. Both dolens and Gwis-Adami came from well to do families of Risorgimento patriots who admired Mazzini and Garibaldi and both had supportive husbands. What was essentially different was the inspiration that brought them into the peace movement. Dolens was moved by concern for women and the oppressed; Gwis-Adami followed the leadership of two eminent men, leaders in journalism, politics and academia. She had never been active in any women's movement and although she vaguely believed in women's emancipation, she often expressed her dislike of non-feminine women leaders and English radical suffragists

The war in 1911 heralded the decline of the Italian peace movement and generated conditions resembling the impact that 1914 had on the entire international movement.

Gwis-Adami's effort to bring in young women as recruits for a next generation of pacifist leaders -- before 1911 -- was one of several such efforts made by women's peace groups to impact on education. When she organized her group of high school teachers and students in 1909, she was evidently unaware of the fact that other efforts of this type had been made earlier in France and Belgium. In 1901, two members of the Alliance des Femmes pour la Paix, Madeleine Carlier and Marguerite Bodin who lived in separate provinces in France announced the creation of a new group, the Société d'education pacifique. It was not their objective to establish yet another pacifist society -- France had many already -- but to create a network of teachers who would engage in bringing peace education into the classroom. In addition, the Société planned to lobby national congresses of teachers organizations (amicales) on curricula reform. Children should be taught that "there are not two moralities -- one for nations and one for individuals."[56] Young children should learn respect for life, rights and dignity -- not heroism. War should not be taught as an inevitable result of political struggle but as a phenomena which can be controlled through arbitration. Games and classroom exercises should be introduced to teach children how to resolve differences through compromise, mediation and negotiation. Bodin presented the outlines of the society's program in 1901 at a teachers congress in Bordeaux. There she also addressed history teaching -- one of the most sensitive subjects anyone could raise in a country reeling from the Dreyfus case and the Fashoda crisis. Bodin urged high school teachers

to teach history as the rise of civilization across national boundaries and not the chronicle of battles and victorious generals which it so frequently became. The common achievements of peoples in industry, science and the arts and not the making of political boundaries, she argued, made up the real thread of the past. Younger children should sit in classrooms decorated with scenes of people working -- not battlefield carnage. The congress was enthusiastic and by 1910, the Société d'education pacifique included membership from approximately one-third of France's provinces.[57] In Belgium, a sister organization was created in 1906 by Marie Rosseels in Anvers which held annual teachers conferences nearly every summer up to World War I.[58] A Swedish affiliate founded and run by Fanny Petterson specialized in international student exchange.[59]

Educating children and high school students in alternative thinking evidently became a major concern of the Peace and Arbitration Committee of the International Council on Women. It too worked to transform textbooks from nationalist heroics to studies in civilization, to revamp history teaching and focus on peaceful solutions that worked in the past. The Committee struggled to have May 18 celebrated as Peace Day in schools -- May 18, 1899 was the opening day of the first Hague Conference. This effort was most successful in parts of the United States, Denmark, Switzerland, The Netherlands and England. For very young children, the Committee rewrote fairy tales and Mother Goose stories to eliminate murder, violence and bloodshed. Major scholars were approached to write new history emphasizing man and his march towards civilization and not his march over fellow man.[60] It was in the field of education -- broadly construed -- that women peace activists labored most persistently. Considering the career

options available to educated women, it is no suprise to find so many involved in peace education prior to World War I.

In France, Italy, Belgium and the Scandinavian nations, women were active as organizers of women's peace societies -- both conservative and militant; in education and educational reform as well as in peace societies including both sexes. From Germany leading women pacifists came out of feminist circles and were the organizers of huge petition campaigns. The event which galvanized the first of these campaigns was the Rescript issued by Nicholas II in August, 1898 calling for an international conference to discuss the arms race, ways of cutting down armaments and the institution of arbitration. The Rescript led to the first Hague Peace Conference in May-June, 1899.

At a congress of the Federation of German Women's Associations in October, 1898, one delegate, Marguerite L. Selenka convinced the audience that an enormous international demonstration of women supporting the objectives of the Rescript be organized. Selenka found herself in charge of all the organizing after the Federation approved her initiative. She labored up to the eve of the official opening, contacting women all over the world -- as far afield as Japan.[61] When the diplomats gathered, they were confronted with petitions with nearly one million signatures. In addition, demonstrations were organized at The Hague and in hundreds of cities by women to support the objectives of the Conference. None of the demonstrators knew, of course, that between August, 1898 and May, 1899, diplomats and ministers throughout Europe had negotiated the thrust of the Tsar's call into oblivion -- particularly the sections on arms reduction. Nonetheless the women's presence was felt. On the eve of the conference, a large public crowd in Copenhagen celebrated the

conference, listening to a choir of 100 women dressed in white and to speakers led by Mathilde Bajer; in Milan and Turin, Paolina Schiff and Emilia Mariani organized and addressed about 20 different meetings of men and women on behalf of The Hague Conference; a 2000 person crowd listed to Marya Cheliga in Paris, representing the Alliance des Femmes pour la Paix; a last minute effort in Stockholm rounded up 200 women signatories to a telegram sent to The Hague; hundreds of new members joined the Dutch women's peace society and Wiesniewska's network came through with thousands of signatures -- as did May W. Sewell.[62] Selenka evaluated the outpouring as the beginning of a new era for women and thus, for history. Women were no longer vaguely and sentimentally opposing war. She saw their anger and opposition as arising from their new social and political voices and their more rational attitude towards patriotism.

> As it lies in the hands of women to foster the fond attachment to home, ... it is she who can ... best inculcate true love of country, ... for native soil, for mother tongue

by opposing the chauvinist press and calls to "racial hatred."[63]

The impressive results of Selenka's campaign were not lost on male pacifists. The dean of European pacifists, Frédéric Passy gratefully thanked her for adding women "to our male voices which for so long have been alone in protest."[64] Italian pacifists hailed her for her struggle to have May 18 recognized as Peace Day everywhere.[65] On the other hand, the German plenipotentiary to The Hague, Count Münster -- who detested the conference -- viewed Selenka and the other pacifists somewhat differently:

> The Conference has attracted the worst political rabble of the entire world. The lowest journalists such as Stead, distasteful Jews like Bloch, peace widows like Frau von Suttner, who was feted yesterday by the

> Russian delegation, Frau Selenka, etc. This whole rabble (including Young Turks, Armenians ... socialists) work openly under Russian protection.[66]

The pacifist presence at the first Hague Conference was the first large scale lobbying effort of private peace activists at a diplomatic conference ever to occur. Earlier international conferences -- such as the Brussels meeting of 1874 or the Geneva conference in 1862 which led to the Red Cross convention had been visited by a handful of self-selected peace crusaders. But 1899 was the first major meeting where large numbers of peace activists congregated and in that group, the women's presence was very clear. Besides Selenka, Wasklewicz-van Schilfgaarde and particularly Bertha von Suttner spent six weeks button-holing diplomats each evening after official sessions closed.

No major woman's petition and demonstration campaign preceded the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907 but in 1910, the German-American feminist and pacifist, Anna Eckstein organized another mass crusade for signatures. Eckstein's world wide petition was aimed at encouraging the convocation of a third Hague Peace Congress and she appeared at a meeting of the German national peace association in 1910 with hundreds of thousands of signatures.[67] She also brought the petition to the 1910 Universal Peace Congress in Stockholm. It demanded better results than the first two Hague Conferences had achieved on arms control and the extension of arbitration as an obligatory requirement among the major powers. The language of Eckstein's petition went considerably farther than the more guarded resolutions of the peace congresses but in essence, its demands were similar. Bluntly she claimed that "if women take up the cause of peace, they take up their own cause and at the same time, that of men."

She was also applauded and supported. By 1910, all national and international peace congresses were becoming impatient, awaiting official government announcements for the third Hague Conference which, it was expected, would occur either in 1913, 1914 or 1915. Part of Eckstein's purpose was to push for the earliest date possible and for a firm commitment on the part of governments to find an arms reduction formula.

No examination of the role of women in the pre-1914 struggle to avoid war by the organization of peace is even half complete without some word about Bertha von Suttner. Born in 1843 into the Austrian nobility, descended from a family of military officers, von Suttner created a career as a journalist, writer and political commentator of some distinction by the 1880's. In 1889 she published her novel, Die Waffen Nieder which narrated the life and misfortunes of one fictional Martha Trilling whose marital happiness was destroyed by war and bloodshed. Graphic depictions of the horrors of battlefields and the Paris Commune -- where Trilling's beloved husband died -- turned the novel into one of the world's all time best sellers. Its author became known as the Harriet Beecher Stowe of peace.[68] By 1914, the novel had been translated into 16 languages and sold over a million copies. It was about to be released as a motion picture in Vienna in the summer of 1914. That showing never took place.

Shortly after the novel's appearance, von Suttner made contact with leaders of peace movements in western Europe. In Vienna, she founded the Oesterreiche Friedensgesellschaft in 1891, then toured Germany creating peace societies in a number of cities. Thus was launched her 25 year career as a peace activist; some would say she was a one woman peace movement. She joined

the Bureau international de la paix as a permanent member of its directorate in 1892; shaped the agendas of international peace congresses; wrote and edited peace journals in German and contributed to French, Italian and English journals freely -- since she knew all the languages fluently. Her articles on contemporary affairs and the peace movement appeared in the liberal Neue Freie Presse in Vienna and her friendship with Alfred Nobel probably contributed to his decision to draw up his amazing will.[69] (There is absolutely no evidence that she knew its contents before Nobel died.)

In the international peace movement, von Suttner occupied a position as mediator among conflicting positions. During the nineties when she saw the international movement as a "fragile plant" she struggled to keep divisive issues -- particularly Alsace-Lorraine -- off the agendas.[70] Given the ardent militarism of most of her compatriots, she argued that discussions of arms reduction would only drive away central European members from the movement. Suttner spent most of her hours as a propagandist trying to persuade eminent Austrian and German leaders of the value of international arbitration. Nothing separates her position from that of the centrist mainstream of international pacifism before 1914 -- indeed, she helped to fashion it. When invited to write an article on "peace from a woman's point of view," she candidly admitted that she would have preferred a different title -- she saw no difference between men's and women's viewpoints on peace.[71] The methods and ideas in favor of peace, in von Suttner's estimation, had nothing to do with sex. Evidently the founders of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1919 saw nothing amiss in von Suttner's position either -- they put her portrait in as the frontispiece

of their published minutes. In her own day, organizers of women's peace societies, meetings and lectures vied to have her speak. She was asked to serve as honorary chair of several women's societies which she accepted. In 1907 at a special meeting of women on peace questions connected to the Munich Universal Peace Congress, von Suttner's speech evoked a ten minute standing ovation from over a thousand women.[72]

Apart from her organizational work which was considerable, von Suttner's main contribution to the movement was as a popularizer. She "translated" the complex legal analyses of international theorists on topics such as arbitration sanctions and methods of providing "good offices" into comprehensible lay language; she explained the differences between the types of arbitration treaties which nations had signed and laid forth the provisions of the Hague conventions to a wider public. Behind her technical writings lay a profound conviction that civilized nations had better find a way to avoid war if they wish to preserve civilization. Von Suttner understood that civilization was a very fragile result of centuries of human labor which would be eradicated by modern weapons. To her, this insight was sufficiently significant to overcome all hesitations and cavils -- it meant that the peace question overrode all other issues. She truly believed that it transcended political and class differences and wanted desperately for her vision to be shared by the ruling circles of Europe. There is no exaggerating her rapture when she read the language of the Tsar's Rescript. Here finally was a monarch who wrote like a pacifist.

Von Suttner has been occasionally evaluated as a sentimentalist, a Pollyanna capable of producing reams of purple prose.

Beneath her cheerful optimism and her constant reminders that change comes very slowly was a powerful recognition that the movement to which she gave her life could be exploded at any moment by an irrational act of those with power. Fortunately for her, she died a few days before Sarajevo.

Given the long record of women's peace activism, especially from 1899 up to the eve of the war, it is difficult to claim that women invented peace activism in 1915. What the congress in 1915 did was brave a torrent of hostility in order to meet -- as well as brave some serious physical dangers. The most immediate demand that emerged from the women's meeting in 1915 was a very practical one conditioned by the war itself -- a hope that the great neutral power across the Atlantic would provide mediation and good offices to end the war as quickly as possible. The post war agenda, however, was not particularly different from the pre-war agenda of the peace movement. This observation is merely common sense -- not an insult -- for, after all, how many ways are there for organizing peace in a world where no nation is willing to relinquish sovereignty and the nations were roughly equal in power. In the course of the discussions at The Hague, the participants often found themselves facing extremely difficult problems -- as had earlier congresses of peace activists. Just how far, for instance, should the principle of national self-determination go? While most people were willing to admit the right of Poles to self-government, should national self-determination break up Belgium into component parts? or transfer Trieste to Italy? and what should be recommended about the Irish? Dr. Aletta Jacobs and Jane Addams who managed the meeting found themselves approximately in the

same uncomfortable positions as had Bertha von Suttner when French pacifists wanted to discuss Alsace-Lorraine and Italians wanted to discuss Austrian treatment of Italians in the Tyrol. At a Universal Peace Congress in 1912, English pacifists had also squirmed as an erudite young Egyptian provided the international congress with a description of the British occupation of his ancient nation. The problem for peace congresses -- be they pre-war or the 1915 Hague women's meeting -- was that the international law formulations on which they all depended so completely were meaningless for peoples who had no nations. Yet, there was really no other set of ideas available for peace activists to defend.

Women's peace propaganda -- in 1915 and earlier -- was a brew mixing "sentimental" appeals to authority that war was particularly destructive to women and children with hard headed, rational and "scientific" arguments on behalf of law and order. Women peace activists varied among themselves as greatly as did men. Some insisted in the tradition of Marie Goegg that international peace efforts required the support of educated and emancipated women. Further, that women's absence from active political rights and life retarded the peace cause. In varying ways, this position was held by Eugénie Potonié-Pierre, Alma dolens, eventually the Princess Wiesniewska, Marguerite Selenka, Ellen Key (who came to her first international peace congress in 1910 in Stockholm), the women educators in the peace movement and certainly, Séverine. Others such as von Suttner and Gwis-Adami understood the peace movement as something separate and even more important than other social and human rights endeavors -- without internationally organized institutions curbing violence, little else would develop. From neither group

came any advocacy of unilateral disarmament. Indeed, almost all women's peace associations -- with the possible exception of Flammarion's -- emphasized the importance of extending the Hague conventions, of building the practice of arbitration among nations, of developing codes of international law before tackling arms reductions. In this sense, the 1915 Hague meeting differed slightly -- they did not argue that arms reduction would be a long term result of legal internationalism; they wanted both, simultaneously, at the end of the war -- which they wanted immediately.

The quarter century culminating in World War I, a period of unrelieved crises, rampant nationalism and a dizzying arms race, was an environment that forced rational men and women to examine alternatives to destruction and attempt to press the case for international similarities. The men and women of the organized, middle class peace movement in Europe chose to argue for peaceful means of conflict resolution. They did not elect to follow Tolstoi's call for absolute pacifism and refusal to bear arms any more than they accepted Quaker arguments; they skirted away from the ticklish issue of conscientious objection on the continent where standing armies of conscripts had become standard practice; they did not advocate sabotage and subversion against the military training system nor did they call for a general strike when war was declared. In fact, neither did most socialists who had discussed those options for 25 years. The peace movement, a combination of liberal internationalism and republican or radical internationalism, was a loose coalition or network. Considering the overwhelming odds that it confronted, the movement would have committed suicide had it excluded women or confined them to lesser roles. Those who complained in later

years that the movement was timid, passive and negative were luxuriating in selective memory, if not historical amnesia.

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U S A

NOTES

1. Congrès International des Femmes, 28 avril - 1 mai, 1915, The Hague, Report, Rapport, Bericht (Amsterdam, n.d., probably 1915) 35-41

2. Ibid., Introduction, p. x.

3. Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, Pioneers for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965 (London: Alden, 1980), 17.

4. Lela B. Costin, "Feminism, Pacifism and Internationalism" in Judith H. Stiehm, ed., Women and Men's Wars, special issue of Women's Studies International Forum, V, 3/4(1982) 302.

5. Quoted in Blanche W. Cook, Introduction to Marie Louise Degan, The History of the Woman's Peace Party, (N.Y., Garland reprint, 1972) 7.

6. See, for example, Congrès International des Femmes, op. cit., pp. 106-11; 310-313. A similar point is aptly made in a draft of an unpublished paper by Marijke Mossink (U. of Nijmegan) entitled "Womanly pacifism, a parable," pp. 3-5.

7. For a parallel argument about French feminism see Karen Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism and Feminism in Fin de Siècle France" in The American Historical Review, 89,3(June, 1984) 674-6.

8. Histories of the peace movement for this period include Merle Curti, The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860 (Duke, 1929); Christina Phelps, The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (N.Y., Columbia, 1930); Gavin B. Henderson, "The Pacifists of the Fifties" in Journal of Modern History (Sept., 1937), 314-41; J. A. Hobson, Richard Cobden, The International Man (London, 1919; new edition with an introduction by Neville Masterman, 1968); J. ter Meulen, Die Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation, 2 vols (The Hague, 1917-40); A. C. F. Beales, The History of Peace (orig. London, 1931; reprinted with a new introduction by Charles Chatfield, N.Y., Garland, 1971); Ettore Rota, "I movimenti pacifisti dell '800 e del '900 e le organizzazioni internazionali" in E. Rota, ed., Questioni di Storia Contemporanea (Milan:Marzoarti, 1952) II, 1963-2018 [should be used with care]; Théodore Ruyssen, Les Sources doctrinales de l'internationalisme (Paris, P.U.F., 1954-61) vol. II; Christian Lange and August Schou, Histoire de l'internationalisme, III, Du Congrès de Vienne jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale (1964); F. H. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace (Cambridge, 1963); F. S. L. Lyons, Internationalism in Europe, 1815-1914 (Leyden, 1963); Peter Brock, Pacifism in the United States (Princeton, 1968) and Pacifism in Europe to 1914 (Princeton, 1972); S. E. Cooper, ed., Internationalism in Nineteenth Century Europe: The Crisis of Ideas and Purpose (N.Y., Garland, 1976); Eric W. Sager, "The Social Origins of Victorian Pacifism" in Victorian Studies, XXIII(Winter, 1980) 211-36; Georges P. Speeckaert, Le Premier Siècle de la Coopération internationale, 1815-1914 (Brussels, U.A.I., 1980).

9. Alexander Tyrell, "Making the Millenium: The Mid-Nineteenth Century Peace Movement" in The Historical Journal, XX,1(1978) 75 - 95.

10. Sandi E. Cooper, "The Impact of Nationalism on European Peace Movements and Liberal Internationalists, 1848-1914" in Peace and Change, VI, 1 & 2(Winter, 1980) 26-7.

11. A brief biography by Laura S. Strumingher will appear in Harold Josephson et al, eds., A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders, 1800-1975 (Westport: Greenwood, probably 1985).

12. Alice F. Tyler, "The Crusade for Peace" in Phases of American Social History to 1860 (Minneapolis, 1944).

13. The standard study of the mid-century (after 1860) European peace movement is Irwin Abrams,"A History of European Peace Societies, 1867-1899" unpublished dissertation, Harvard, 1938. See also Frédéric Passy, Pour la Paix: notes et documents (orig. Paris, 1909; reprinted with an introduction by Adolf Wild, N.Y., Garland, 1972), ch. 2.

14. For the creation of the Ligue international de la paix et de la liberté, see Abrams, op. cit.; also Jules Barni, ed., Annales du Congrès de Génève, 9 - 12 séptembre, 1867 (Geneva: Vérésoff & Garrigues, 1868) 9-12.

15. "Proposition de créer une Association internationale des femmes en connexion avec la Ligue de la paix et de la liberté" in Les Etats-Unis d'Europe, I, 10 (March 8, 1868) 38. A brief biography of Goegg by S. E. Cooper will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit.

16. Speech reprinted in Les Etats-Unis d'Europe, I, 26 (June 28, 1868) 102.

17. Deux Discours (Geneva, 1878, reprint of 1868 speeches), 4-5.

18. Barni, op. cit. p. 49. The poor relationship which developed after 1868 between the Genevan Ligue and the First International is also recorded in Jacques Freymond et al, La Première Internationale (Geneva: Droz, 1962). One of the founders of the International, the English trade union leader, W. R. Cremer was among the first to resign. Cremer was also a founder of the Genevan peace society. His initial commitment was an organization of workers from Britain and the continent against war and he was completely disinterested in Marx's analysis. See Howard Evans, Sir Randal Cremer: His Life and Work (London, 1909; reprinted with an introduction by Naomi C. Miller, N.Y., Garland, 1971), ch. iii, iv, viii.

19. Goegg, Deux Discours, introduction.

20. Sandi E. Cooper, "Peace and Internationalism: European Ideological Movements Behind the Two Hague Conferences (1889-1907)" unpublished dissertation, New York University, 1967, ch. 1. Roger Chickering, Imperial Germany and a World Without War: The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892-1914 (Princeton, 1975) ch. 1; Jost Dülffer, Regeln gegen den Krieg? Die Haager Friedenskonferenzen, 1899 und 1907 in der internationalen Politik (Frankfurt/M., Ullstein, 1981), 7-17; Solomon Wank, ed., Introduction to Doves and Diplomats (Greenwood, 1978).

21. The most remarkable work of prediction was the study by Jean Bloch, Guerre (Paris 1896-8) which examined the nature of modern warfare and proposed most of the nightmarish conditions of trench warfare which would occur in a major war among the great powers. One volume of the six volume study appeared in English as The Future of War (Boston, 1910). The six volume French edition (it was also published in Russian, Polish and German) and the single English volume are available, with an introduction by S. E. Cooper in N.Y., Garland reprint, 1972-4. Bloch's impact on the Tsar is discussed in Peter van den Dungen, The Making of Peace: Jean de Bloch and the First Hague Peace Conference, Occasional Papers #12, (California State Univ. at Los Angeles, Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, 1983, general editor: Udo Heyn), 57 pages.

22. Bureau international de la Paix, "Appel aux Associations des Dames" Berne, 12 mai, 1892 in Archives (Bureau international de la Paix), United Nations Library, Geneva, dossier V. A. 4. [Hereafter, BIP Archives.]

23. Jules Bois, "Le Role Prépondérant de la Femmes pour l'établissement de la Paix" in La Paix par le Droit, VIII,10 (Paris and Nîmes, Dec., 1898) 53.

24. La Paix, organe des sections romandes de la Société romandes de la Société suisse de la paix (Lausanne, March, 1905) 6-8.

25. In 1904, its president, the American May Wright Sewell affiliated the committee directly with the Berne Bureau. See letter, Jan. 15, 1904 in BIP Archives, V. A. 4.

26. See Liverpool & Birkenhead Women's Peace and Arbitration Society, Annual Report, List of Officers for 1894, 2 p. circular in BIP Archives, VII A.1 "History of Peace Societies."

27. A brief biography by Thomas C. Kennedy will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit. Peckover claimed several thousand members by 1894. See letter to Elie Ducommun, 9 X 1894 and undated post card in BIP Archives, VIII, A.1.

28. "Les Femmes d'Angleterre à leurs soeurs de France" April 28, 1895, in BIP Archives, dossier "Femmes et paix."

29. Eugénie Pierre-Potonié, "Aux Femmes de tous les pays" in Petits Plaidoyers contre la guerre XXX(1895) in BIP Archives, III, Q 2 Congrès de la Paix, Historique.

30. Undated mss, "Aux femmes françaises" in BIP Archives, V. A. 4,6 "Propagande par des sociétés des femmes."

31. Letter to Elie Ducommun, Dec. 3, 1897 in BIP Archives, V. A. 4.

32. Letter to Elie Ducommun, April 8, 1896, requesting that the Bureau send delegates to a feminist congress in BIP V. A. 4.

33. BIP Archives, V. A. 4 "Propagande des femmes."

34. A brief biography by H. Rombach will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit. Waszklewicz- van Schilfgaarde, a talented organizer and editor, was active in the national and international movement from 1898-1904 when she apparently lost interest in the movement. A brief biography by S. E. Cooper of Wiesniewska will also appear in ibid.

35. Letter to Austrian Women, copy in Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand (Paris, V Arr.) dossier "Paix."

36. Letter to Norwegian Sisters, in Durand, loc. cit. also clipping from Echo de Paris, 15 Oct., 1900 in loc. cit.

37. Preface to Archer de Lima, Pour la Paix et pour l'Humanité (Lisbon, 1898).

38. Caïel was quoting the words of Gaston Moch, a leading French pacifist in Caïel, La Femme et la Paix: Appel aux Mères Portugaises (Lisbon: Imp. Nacional, 1898) 53, brochure preserved in Bibliothèque de Documentation Contemporaine, Nanterre, Fonds Passy.

39. The central position accorded to arbitration provided the international movement with its strongest unifying ideology. Many pacifists shared Gaston Moch's view that "the realization of a simultaneous agreement [on arms reduction] is materially impossible for the problem differs greatly from one nation to another -- the configuration of the land, population density, wealth, importance of the colonial empire -- produce very specific defensive conditions for each power, from which proceeds the impossibility of finding a common ground." Gaston Moch, "La Philosophie de la Paix: L'arbitrage universel" in Morale Générale II (Paris: Colin, 1903) 365.

At an international peace congress, the same idea was passed as a resolution which asserted

> disarmament [would be] a result of the organization of peace rather than a means of arriving at peace. [The congress] is convinced that the application by the nations of a system of justice ... will necessarily lead to a progressive and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

Congrès universel de la paix, Bulletin officiel, Monaco, 1902, p. 47.

40. Bertha von Suttner, in Die Waffen Nieder, #20 (Vienna, 1897) quoted in Hans Wehburg, Die internationale Beschränkung der Rüstungen (N.Y., Garland, 1973), reprinted with an introduction by S. Wank, p. 15

Von Suttner (1843-1914) was the most eminent woman in the movement. A brief biography by Irwin Abrams will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit. Longer studies include Beatrix Kampf, Bertha von Suttner, Das Leben einer grosser Frau, Schriftstellerin, Politikeran, Journalisten (Vienna: Oesterreicher Bundesverlag, 1964); Carolyn E. Playne, Bertha von Suttner and the Struggle to Avert World War I (London: Allen Unwin, 1936) and a fictionalized account, Hertha Pauli, Cry of the Heart, The Story of Bertha von Suttner, tr. by R and C. Winston (N.Y., Washburn, 1957).

41. "Manifesto" in Le Désarmement Général, I, 2 (Paris, 1897) 5.

42. reprinted in Caïel, op. cit., p. 49.

43. Letter to Mme. Edmond Spalikowska, 1 IX 1903, pp. 3-4 in Durand, loc. cit.

44. A brief biography by S. E. Cooper will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit.

45. Séverine, "Mme. Camille Flammarion" in Le Congrès Spiritualiste (July, 1908) #7, clipping preserved in Durand, loc. cit.

46. When Flammarion was unable to attend a meeting in Berne of the central committee of the peace bureau, she asked to be represented by "une déléguée" -- a woman delegate -- who would respect the women's approach to peace concerns. See letter to Albert Gobat, 28 IX 1911 in BIP Archives, I. F., Commission du Bureau, 1892-5 (misfiled).

47. A brief biography by Albert Hill will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit.

48. In reality, one society -- the Comitato delle Signore per la Pace e l'Arbitrato internazionale had been founded in Palermo in 1891 and Signora Elvira Cimino remained its chair for over 20 years. This group appears to have confined itself to protests to the government during crises and occasional protests over military appropriations. Unfortunately, surviving information leaves no indication of its activities, its membership and its involvement in the national peace federation of Italy. The initial creation of this organization was the work of an English organizer, Hodgson Pratt who headed the London based International Peace and Arbitration Association of which the Palermo group was an affiliate.

49. A brief biography by S. E. Cooper will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit.

50. Speech to the fifth national congress of Italian peace societies, in La Vita Internazionale, XIII, 1(Jan. 5, 1910) 6.

51. Ibid., X, 19 (Oct. 5, 1907) 435, report of the third national congress, Perugia.

52. A brief biography of Gwis-Adami by S. E. Cooper will appear in Josephson, ed., op. cit. For a discussion of the Italian pacifist crisis in 1911 see Sandi E. Cooper, "The Impact of Nationalism on European Peace Movements and Liberal Internationalists" 30-32.

53. Letter to Albert Gobat, Jan. 12, 1912 in BIP Archives, Correspondance.

54. Letters to Albert Gobat, Feb. 12, Feb. 17, 1912 in ibid.

55. See, for example, Nella mischia. Riposta di una donna a Romain Rolland (Rome, 1918).

56. Société d'Education Pacifique, Announce, 1902 in BIP Archives "Paix et l'Education".

57. Bureau International de la Paix, Annuaire du Mouvement pacifique

57 [continued] pour l'année 1910 (Bienne, 1910) 54-7.

58. La Paix par le Droit, XVI, 10(Oct., 1906) 397. (This journal of the French peace movement, published from 1891 to 1948, mainly in Paris, is available on microfiche from Clearwater Press, New York City).

59. Bureau international de la paix, Annuaire ... pour 1910, 80.

60. May Wright Sewell, "Report on the Committee on Peace and Arbitration" in Countess Aberdeen, ed., International Council of Women, Report of the Quinquennial Meetings, Rome, 1914 (Karlsruhe, 1914) 408-15.

61. Marguerite L. Selenka, Die internationale Kundebung der Frauen zur Friedenskonferenz, 15 mai 1899 (München, Schupp, 1900) Introduction.

62. Report in Correspondance Bi-mensuelle IV, 11(Berne: Bureau international de la paix) June 10, 1899, 75-7.

63. Selenka, op. cit., p. x.

64. Quoted in Vita Internazionale, IV, 9(May 5, 1901) 293.

65. Ibid., p. 294. In addition to struggling for an international observance of Peace Day, Selenka and other German feminist pacifists worked unsuccessfully to eliminate the German national holiday, Sedan Day, celebrating the defeat of France in 1870. See "Contre la Fête de Sedan" in La Paix par le Droit, #8(July, 1909) 334.

66. Communique of Münster to Foreign Minister, von Bülow, in Die Grosse Politik der Europaischen Kabinette, XV, #4327 (June 26, 1899) 312-4.

67. Der dritte deutschen Friedenskongress in Wiesbaden, 1910 (Verlag der Deutscher Friedensgesellschaft, n.d., probably 1911), 20-21.

68. An English translation, Lay Down Your Arms is available with an introduction by Irwin Abrams, (N.Y., Garland, 1972).

69. Irwin Abrams, "Bertha von Suttner and the Nobel Peace Prize" in Journal of Central European Affairs, XXII(1962) 286-301. I am grateful to Prof. Abrams for a copy of his latest paper, "The Transformation of the Nobel Peace Prize" delivered at the International Studies Assn., Spring, 1984 (Atlanta) which examines the differences between the prize in the years before 1914 and after 1919.

70. Bertha von Suttner, Memoirs, 2 vols, (N.Y., Garland, 1972 reprinted with an introduction by Irwin Abrams), I, 361.

71. Bertha von Suttner, "Universal Peace from a Woman's Standpoint" in North American Review, CLXIX (July, 1899) 50.

72. Congrès universel de la Paix, Bulletin officiel, Munich, 1907 (Berne: Büchler, 1908) Appendix. This special meeting

NOTES

72 [continued] was called to emphasize the importance of bringing women into the peace movement. Besides von Suttner, Lucia Mead, Sylvie Flammarion, and Priscilla H. Peckover spoke.

Sandi E. Cooper
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WOMEN AND THE [EUROPEAN] CONTINENTAL PEACE MOVEMENTS:

THE EFFORT TO PREVENT WORLD WAR I

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WOMEN ACTIVISTS IN PEACE MOVEMENTS OR PEACE ISSUES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN EUROPE

1844 Eugénie Niboyet founded La Paix des Deux Mondes and L'Avenir

1868-71 Marie Goegg founded l'Association Internationale des Femmes
[affiliated with the Ligue internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté]

mid-1870's The Woman's Association of the British Peace Society founded. Mrs. Henry Richard, Honorary President

1879 Priscilla Peckover founded Wisbech Local Peace Assn.

1891 Bertha von Suttner founded Oesterreicher Friedensgesellschaft (Austrian Peace Society)

[1891 Bureau International de la Paix established in Berne
first executive secretary: Elie Ducommun (d 1906)
second executive secretary: Albert Gobat (d. 1914)

1889-1913: annual Universal Peace Congresses and meetings of The Inter-Parliamentary Union]

1895 L'Union Internationale des Femmes founded by Ellen Robinson and Eugénie Pierre-Potonié

1896 Ligue des Femmes pour le désarmement international founded by Princess Gabrielle Wiszniewska
Name changed to Alliance universelle des femmes pour la Paix (par l'education)
Dutch affiliate: founded by Johanna Waszklewicz-van Schilfgaarde

1898-99 Marguerite L. Selenka organized woman's petition campaign on behalf of The Hague Conference

1899-1900 L'Association "La Paix et le Désarmement par les Femmes" founded by Sylvia Flammarion
vice-president Séverine

1901 Société d'Education pacifique founded by Madeleine Carlier and Marguerite Bodin (in Pas-de-Calais)

1908 About 15 Italian women's peace societies founded in central Italy by Alma dolens (Teresita Pasini dei Bonfatti)

[from 1891, Elvira Cimino had presided over the Societa della Pace in Palermo]

1909 Societa delle giovinette italiane founded by Rosalia Gwis-Adami and Adèle Alciador